821 what they mean by maboya). That is why they say laf'koua noquam th the eating of the moon; laf'koua vicou the eating of the sun. When
821 one or the other[1] occurs, the women and young people dance all night,
535 and once they have started to dance they dare not quit before day. They do not sing at all during this dance, but from time to time utter doleful cries. During this gloomy silence, there is a girl or woman who rattles little pebbles in a gourd and sings alone. The only reason they have for this sad dance is that their food in the ground would die without it.

In their dances, those just mentioned as well as others of rejoicing, they do not hold each other with their hands, but each dances alone. They put their feet together and jump, a little bent over, putting one hand on their head, and the other on a buttock, and change them constantly. This dance tires them so, that finally they are completely exhausted.

● 785 Among their superstitions they have none more rigorous than their fasts, and as they fast for several reasons and at different times, we shall speak of each in its place.

805 Let us say here what would not be more appropriate elsewhere. They calculate their year by the course of the Pleiades, which they
[821] call siric. They know several stars and know approximately when
802 they will have rain or wind. They count no higher than five; if they have to say ten, they say: all my fingers. If twenty, they show their feet and their hands, and they would not know how to say any more.

CHAPTER IV

Their Ornaments

291 Our Caribs never wear clothes, neither men nor women, except for a few chiefs when they come among us. They do not even cover their shameful parts. This is contrary, nevertheless, to the custom of the savages of the mainland, [54] where both men and women have a sort of cotton band covering what nature is ashamed to show.

302 Men and women wear their hair long; at the front they cut it halfway up the forehead and let it hang in the style of a little girl.

[1] [i.e. An eclipse of the moon or sun.--Analyst]

574 the civilities which it is customary to render to men. If someone
576 else greets them they respond with the women's greeting. [155]

When Caribs meet after a long period of absence from each other, they embrace each other impelled by reasons of joy or sadness. [516] Mutually resting their head on the shoulder of the other, each rests one knee on the ground. They begin a sad chant and go so far as to weep and sob, even continuing to weep for a long time after. This is especially true when the visitor arrives during a drinking party as I have seen happen at the arrival of a Balibi. [233]

302 When the Caribs go to feasts their women paint them red and wash their faces and wipe them. Then the women spread their fingers which are reddened with paint and press them on their husband's faces, which disguises their features so well that one has difficulty recognizing them. [298]

293 The skin of the jaguar has short, red hair. All the Caribs who have been to South America have such a skin. When they come to their feasts each carries his own in ostentation trailing it ten or twelve feet behind him, with the claws of the Mansfénix hawk arranged on two sticks across their backs. They believe that this communicates to them courage and valor. When they are gashed with the teeth of 752 an agouti and are bleeding they grind up the jaguar skin and rub the powder on the wound. This heals the wound very well without any inflammation or boils, even when they have been previously rubbed with pepper and pimento. [100]

● 785 I have seen young men at feasts stand in the middle of the carbet with their hands upon their heads allowing anyone to beat them with arrows, similar to blows given with the flat of a sword. I have seen others just after the greater part of their bodies had been gashed, who allowed people to rub them all over with the body of a Mansfénix together with a great deal of pepper which had been crushed between two rocks. God knows that they become hot after that. Others, not at the time of these drinking parties, stood up in the same place, and old women beat them with pineapples leaves which they hold by the points. With the spines they scratch them by dragging them across their bodies, for the pineapple leaves are like saws except that the spines are more treacherously sharp and pointed. All of this is designated by the term "He has passed by the lances." [132]

little wooden pin set into the edge of a canoe which holds the paddle. [444] The tiller of a rudder is simply set, for there are no bolts, iron brace plates, or nails. However, it serves its purpose and they steer well at sea. [157] They use a long and strong pole which they carry in their canoes and pirogues in order to keep the prow headed into the waves and to keep the canoe from being thrown on shore. They also use this pole when embarking and disembarking. [265] For an anchor the Caribs use a great rock with small sticks fastened around it like a cage. They throw it into the sea and it is held by a heavy rope of mahot fiber which is fastened to the canoe. Those who are able to do so trade with captains of ships to obtain cordage and anchors. [285] The conch shell is the horn and trumpet of the Caribs. [60] They blow their horn when they intend to land. The Caribs always carry a conch shell in their pirogues to blow and announce their arrival to those of the carbet whom they are visiting. This is done in order that they may come to help them disembark, or if it is at night to bring fire so that the pirogue will not be run aground and broken. [467]

They make a raft by assembling and binding logs from which they fish when they lack canoes. [87]

6. Birth, Education and Marriage

The Caribs observe fasts quite frequently, especially at the death of one of their relatives, upon the birth of their first child, after the capture of an enemy, etc. They usually spend the first five days without eating or drinking. The next four days they drink only a beverage made from boiled cassava. After this time they eat as much cassava starch as they like for a period of two or three months. After this period they continue to abstain from certain meats. The husband rarely starts howling when his wife is in pangs of childbirth. On the contrary I have seen them coming from outdoors, secretly and stealthily, one month after the birth of the child in order to begin their seclusion and fasting. If one asks them questions about this custom they make no answer except to scorn those who do not follow the custom, although they do explain that if one does not behave in this way upon the child's birth, he would grow old sooner, be slower when he runs, and that internal disease would attack him strongly and this evil would spread to the child. [373]

After having lived without any knowledge of God, they die without hope of salvation. It would be better for us to say that they have no religion at all, instead of describing as a cult of divinity all their trifling nonsense, superstitions, or more exactly sacrileges with which they honor all of the demons who seduce them.

However they have some feeling of a God more powerful than all those we will discuss, and they agree with us that he made the sky and resides there. Mr. de Rochefort says they make the following distinction: that the God of France made the sky of France and that the God of the Islands made the sky of the islands. I have talked with several men who share my sentiment that the Caribs do not make this distinction. The Caribs admit freely that god is gifted with such great kindness that he harms no one. Instead of elevating themselves by this knowledge they are indifferent to it, rendering honor and presenting their offerings only to the spirits from whom they hope to gain favors or from whom they fear spells.

It is a general belief that there are two kinds of spirits. Some are good and are called icheíri. The others are bad and are called mapoya or maboya. They believe that among these spirits a difference of sex prevails and that they multiply. They had once been men like themselves and are of diverse nations. When these spirits are called by their boyes [shamans], they sometimes bring their children's children's children with them. They further believe that it is within the power of these spirits or gods to make their manioc increase, and that they can come to help them in their sickness and aid them in their battles. They cause hurricanes and in addition poison and kill whomever they please.

The Caribs have among them certain charlatans who are called boyes, but are called priests, sorcerers, or magicians by Mr. de Rochefort. Since he states that these boyes don't offer any sacrifice and it is the special duty of priests to offer them, it seems to me that he would have better called them ministers like himself.

Most of these boyes, and this is the way they call these sorcerers, are dedicated and consecrated from early youth to this detestable ministry by means of fasts as well as by bloodshed caused by cutting themselves over all the parts of their body with agouti teeth. When one of these boyes wishes to make another man a boye this is the

778 idols were discovered in his possession and he was given over to the Inquisition. He would have inevitably experienced the rigors due a sorcerer had not the letters written to His Royal Highness by Mr. du Parquet clearly pointed out his innocence.

They also make certain small wooden statues said to be figures of maboyas, who reveal themselves to the Caribs by tormenting them. They wear them suspended around their neck. They wear them to halt, or at least diminish, the outrages of these cruel tyrants, rather than from a desire to serve the maboyas in a cult. Actually all the duties which are demanded by the ichéiris as well as by the maboyas through their boyes seem to be striking imitations of what happens when witches revel on their Sabbath, rather than acts of true religion. Father Raymond [Breton] states in his dictionary that they blame all of the evils which happen to them on the gods of the boyes, on the maboyas, and on the sorcerers. They fear the first more than they love them. They hate the second, and they very often take revenge on the third, often times for very little reason.

535 [821] When there is an eclipse of the moon they believe that a maboya is eating it. This causes them to dance all night, the young and old alike, men and women, hopping with their feet together, one hand on their head and the other on their buttocks. They dance without singing but intermittently they howl certain dismal and appealing screams into the air. Once they have started to dance they are obliged to continue until dawn without daring to stop the dance no matter what the necessity may be. While dancing, a girl takes in her hand [534] a calabash filled with small pebbles, and shaking it she tries to fit her coarse voice in with this uproar. This dance is different from those which they do when they get drunk, because the one reflects superstition and the other rejoicing.

● 785 It is also necessary to include among superstitions the fast which they observe for a variety of reasons. For example, they fast when a girl has reached the age of puberty, or a boy enters adolescence, or when children have lost their father or mother, or when a husband has lost his wife or a wife a husband, or when they have killed some of their enemies in war. However, the most solemn of their fasts is undertaken by newly married couples who have a boy for a first child. They sometimes spend five or six days without eating or drinking,

785 while others more robust satisfy themselves for nine or ten days with a bit of bread and water. If they did not hold to this rigorous abstinence they would be considered weaklings. They are also superstitious in their avoidance of salt, pig meat, tortoises, manatees, fat, eggs and a large number of animals which would have been considered unclean according to the law of Moses. They also have a custom of marrying female first cousins; cousins of the sons of two brothers call themselves brothers. They have no names and they ordinarily call a man the son of so and so, as the Jews are accustomed to do. This has given rise to the opinion that they were descended from Jews, but no reasons are provided by them which might indicate that they practice all of these customs for religious reasons, so that it is not worth while to infer any consequences from this fact.

They believe in the immortality of the soul, but say that each man has three souls; one in the heart, one in the head, and another in the arm. The soul in the heart manifests itself by its throbbing and goes straight to heaven upon death to be very happy there. The souls in the arm and head manifest themselves by the beating of the pulse and throb of the arteries. They become maboyas, that is to say, evil spirits, which they believe to be the cause of everything sinister and disastrous.

Concerning Birth, Education and Marriage, of the Caribs

Since nature was corrupted by the wickedness of our first parents, it has been absolutely necessary to have laws to enlighten reason and to direct it without error to the correct path of truth. It should not astonish us if the birth, life, and customs of our unenlightened Caribs are filled with superstition, errors, and nonsense which brings amusement at the same time that it brings tears to the eyes of those who have true Christian sentiments.

Among their nonsense which upset me the most was a superstition practised by men at the birth of their children. Women give birth with little pain, and if labor is difficult for some of them they know how to relieve it using a special root as a remedy and which has an

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

figures through which the maboya gave oracular answers. There were, 756
however, no household idols or priests, as among the *Arawak*.

The *Carib* often attributed sickness to the influence of sorcerers who 754
had obtained control of maboya. They consulted a shaman to determine the identity of the sorcerer and were usually directed to a woman, from whom no reprisal was to be feared. The woman was made to pick up a shell or a fishbone and to confess that she had administered this in food to cause the disease. She was then tortured and killed.

The shaman was also brought in to effect cures. He worked in the 755
same way as at other séances, setting up a table bearing food offerings and oüicou at one end of the hut and calling his maboya with songs and tobacco smoke. The shaman first asked his maboya whether the disease would be fatal. If so, he abandoned the ceremony and told the patient to prepare for death. If not, the shaman and his maboya approached the patient, touched the part of his body which pained him, sometimes sucking it, and drew out an object—an imaginary poison, thorns, pieces of bone, or splinters of wood and stone. These were supposed to have caused the disease. Then the shaman rubbed the sick person's body with the juice of the *Genipa* fruit, producing a dark brown color. When the patient had recovered, he gave a feast for the shaman, at the same time providing food [465]
offerings for the latter's maboya.

The *Carib* fasted upon a number of occasions: At puberty; when be- 785
coming a chief, a father, or a warrior; after killing an enemy; and at the death of a close relative. A man might also be asked to fast when a relative was sick, in the hope that it might relieve the pain. A typical schedule of fasting has already been described above (p. 557) in connection with the birth of the first child. The people did not vomit for religious purposes, but only to rid their stomachs of an excess of food.

Women knew of certain herbs, fruits, roots, oils, and gums which they 757
used to cure diseases. For indigestion they prepared an infusion from [278]
the bark of the chipou tree and from the *Lambys* shell; they had another drink made by pounding up the bark of certain trees and vines when the sap was thick. If the indigestion had been caused by eating crabs, they ate as an antidote the flesh of the manatee or tortoise, which caused the body to break out into pimples. Then they treated the latter with the juice of the junipa nut or with sap from the leaves of the balisier tree mixed with the ashes of burned seeds. The former was also used to heal wounds. The wives sucked the poison out of snake bites, applied an infusion to the wound, and also prepared a drink as an antidote. They had another antidote for arrow poisoning. Bathing was used to treat some wounds, sweat baths for others. Sometimes they scarified the body to draw off blood.

8: Taylor
785, 751, 262

ST13 Callinago ST13

[For information on fasting and other restrictions as a means of avoiding forces harmful to the individual on specific occasions, see category 784.]

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950
ST13 Callinago ST13

may be exposed, and to which he (or she) becomes particularly vulnerable during critical passages of life. The principle, if not its applications, is familiar. What is less so is the Island Carib view of exuberant "body-heat" as the medium through which such factors operate. Add to this the by now well-known concept of a "mystic" relationship between begetter and begotten, killer and killed, eater and eaten, and intimate or even occasional associates, and many hitherto unexplained customs become clear.

There is no evidence that the old-time Island Carib—or his modern descendant—valued physical deprivation and suffering as a means of atonement, of schooling the will or hardening the body, or even as an ordeal (in the strict sense) or a proof of valor. His own term for these "retreats and fasts," *inoroualí*, means, literally, "withdrawal from exposure," and indicates his attitude clearly enough. Some exposure there must always be, since every form of existence is potentially dangerous to every other form; but with ordinary precaution and so long—to use a simile—as there is plain sailing, one may keep a full sheet aloft and run before the wind without too much risk. When, on the other hand, the boat springs a leak, or there is a rugged headland to be rounded, it is time to take in sail.

MAGUA,
DOMINICA, B. W. I.

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11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

custom) men did not have intercourse with a woman while she was pregnant; though whether this was intended (like the post-puerperal sexual abstinence recorded by Breton) to safeguard the child, he does not say. The modern Carib does not rationalize this custom, but says it is a matter of taste.

Soon after a child is born [writes Breton] the woman chosen for that purpose reshapes its head by kneading, widening the crown and bringing it down in an equal slope to the eyes, so that the forehead is on a line with the rest.

The mother endeavored to maintain this shape by exerting pressure on the child's head whenever it was asleep on her lap.

Children were named "unofficially" at birth by their mothers or grandmothers. Later—Breton says eight days, Rochefort twelve to fifteen days, and Du Tertre six months and eight days after birth—a man and a woman were chosen as sponsors to impose a "true" name on the child. It was also they who pierced its ears, underlip, and the division of its nostrils (for the future wearing of karákuli, etc.). The "baby-name," or rather an abbreviated form of it together with that of the father, was the one employed in reference, etc. Thus Kuy´-líraĥī-íme stood for Kuy´mene (baby-name) líraĥī (*his child*) `Imeruái (father's baby-name). (This custom still obtains, Hamilton the son of Nicolas being currently spoken of as Ham-Nini.) The true name might be retained or changed in after life, but it must be kept secret from all but intimates.

After the birth of his first child, the Island Carib father practised what we now call the couvade; and explained this custom by saying that should he omit it, not only would others scorn him, but he would the sooner get old and infirm himself, while his new-born child also would suffer. However, under the heading íhwenemátobu *mon premier né, le sujet de mon jeusne* (also *phantaisie*: cf. íhwén>te *a dream;* íhwenémali *a fast*), Breton states that these fasts were practised "particularly at the death of one of their family, at the coming of the first child, and at the capture of an enemy, etc." Moreover they did not necessarily begin coincidentally with the accouchement, etc.: "on the contrary I have seen them come from without, stealthily and in secret a month after the birth, to perform their retreat and fasts." Elsewhere we read of similar prescriptions for candidates for a chieftainship, for would-be shamans, and for girls at the time of their first menses. Ordinarily, these fasts consisted in the faster's lying up in his hammock and abstaining from all food and drink for five days, and from all but boiled cassava drink for another four (Breton). According to Du Tertre, after the first five days besides drinking wiku men ate the centers of cassava-cakes whose outer rims were then strung up and reserved for the elétuak festival. After these nine days they ate manioc-starch cassava-cakes as much as

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

785 they liked for a further period of two or three months, and thereafter only continued to abstain from certain activities and meats for some time.

852 When the child began to be given fish to eat at about the age of two years, [302] its hair was cut for the first time ceremonially, and its mother's temples shaved. [304] The piercing of its ears, etc., apparently also took place at this ceremony (nikulukáyanɥ, nùbukaétiɥ) which, according to Breton's description, was held concurrently with an elétuak festival.

796 The latter appears to have been a family rather than a tribal affair, although [851 881] intended for the carrying out of all the *rites de passage*, such as initiation of infants (into the tribe) and adolescents (into manhood), and for the purification 783 and reintegration of those who had for the first time become parents or had killed an enemy.

> Il y a peu de Sauvages qui ayent femmes et enfans, qui ne fassent ce festin icy, qui est un de leurs plus solemnels: ils sont quelque fois des quatre mois à s'y préparer, on y rase le poil des tempes aux femmes, et à leur petits enfans ausquels on commence d'y faire manager du poisson.

Besides large quantities of wiku to be prepared for the feathered dancers (eletuakátiɥ táomáliti) and guests, basketry tables (matútu) and other utensils [273] for the rites must be made, and those asked to help by making them (itawánəmuku) repaid for their trouble by a special drinking-party (itehwennə). Moreover, after the elétuak festival all such articles were held to be fair plunder for the guests.

796 The name, elétuak, appears to connote *a putting out from* or *forth-putting*, 304 (cf. éleletuába *incise! let [blood]!* < ële *power, strength;* and as a stem: *choose, extend, endure:* élele *speech* or *flame;* átu[ra] [*to*]*put forth);* and the essential part of the rites performed on these occasions consisted in blood-letting.[6] Breton goes on to describe them thus:

> . . . les grands, voire les mariez apportent quand et eux des oyseaux de rapine, les petits des petits, les mariez des gros et grands qu'ils ont pris dans le nid et nourris pour ce mystère. Le capitaine qui est prié pour cela prend les oyseaux et leur casse la teste sur leurs testes qui en restent ensanglantées. Il incise les petits et les grands, mène les petits dans leurs lits qui y doivent demeurer sans manger, et en la posture qu'il leur donne, sans laquelle ils croyent qu'ils demeureroient bossus ou contrefais, 796 suivant celle qu'ils prendroient dans ce lit [i. e. hammock]. On écrase les oyseaux 301 des grands (s'ils ont eu enfant, ou s'ils ont tué quelque Arroüague) avec quantité de gros grains de poivre [*Capsicum*], ou pimant [< Carib, boémwę *Capsicum* <

[777 757] 6 Hunters still make razor cuts in their arms to improve their luck, while incision and cupping are practised to relieve pain.